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INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS GROUP

OFFICE OF REPORTS AND ESTIMATES

CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

WORKING PAPER

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Copy for: *Mr. Mc Mann*

Document No. 027
NO CHANGE in Class. ☐
☒ DECLASSIFIED
Class. CHANGED TO: TS S C
DDA Memo, 4 Apr 77
Auth: DDA REG. 77/1763
Date: 7 FEB 1978 By: 024

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INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS GROUP

WEEKLY SUMMARY NO. 10

For week ending 8 March 1949

Volume II

The International Week

The shift in Soviet Foreign Ministry chiefs is not expected to cause any change in the Soviet role in the UN. The Economic and Social Council recommended an investigation into slave labor behind the Iron Curtain after rejecting a USSR proposal to investigate working conditions in all countries. In response to the Truman Point IV, ECOSOC also recommended that the UN work out a plan for expanded technical aid to underdeveloped countries. Meanwhile the Security Council approved Israel's application for UN membership.

Taking a further step toward European unification, the Brussels Pact powers have invited Scandinavia, Italy and Eire to meet on 28 March to approve a Council of Europe. The ministerial level OEEC executive committee is torn between British insistence on national austerity policies and continental preference for greater economic cooperation.

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A No change in Soviet UN role likely. The double promotions of Vishinsky and Gromyko betoken no major change in the aggressive obstructionist tactics hitherto pursued by the USSR in the UN. Despite Soviet withdrawal from the World Health Organization and the reduction of Soviet personnel in the UN Secretariat, it also appears that the USSR is likely to continue its active UN role with little likelihood of a withdrawal for the present. There still remain as the main assets accruing from Soviet participation in the UN: (1) the SC veto permitting the USSR to block any enforcement measures inimical to Soviet interests; (2) a superb sounding board for propaganda; and (3) the ability to prevent the UN from becoming exclusively a Western-oriented body utilized against the USSR.

There have, however, been some indications that these assets have recently been depreciating. The growth of regional security pacts, capable of acting independently of the SC, tends to reduce the value of the veto. Increasing Western utilization of the General Assembly, which, though lacking in enforcement powers, is free of the veto, has tended to reduce the role of the SC. In the propaganda field, anti-Soviet attacks in the UN are increasing both in volume and effectiveness. For example, the focussing of world attention on Soviet forced labor practices has been most disagreeable to the USSR. Furthermore the developing network of UN activities in the international social, economic and scientific sphere is directly contrary to Soviet objectives (see item below).

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Nevertheless, against these considerations must be set the fact that the USSR still retains vast powers of obstruction in the UN and that its propaganda carries far beyond the walls of the assembly chamber. Soviet withdrawal at this time would leave the entire non-Communist world with a ready made security organization transcending the nascent Atlantic Pact. It would sound an alarm to the entire non-Soviet world, advertise the belligerent designs of the USSR and thus accelerate military preparations to resist the Kremlin. The USSR does not as yet feel itself strong enough to openly disregard the UN. Under these circumstances both the Soviet withdrawal from WHO and the gradual reduction of Soviet nationals on the Secretariat appear dictated by a growing reluctance to expose Kremlin subjects to Western contamination rather than a prelude to withdrawal. Should, however, the UN continue to develop into a body whose activities are in fact aimed at the USSR, should Soviet obstructionism be increasingly circumvented and should UN anti-Soviet propaganda come to outweigh Soviet, then the USSR might eventually reassess the desirability of remaining in the UN.

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Soviet attack on UN Specialized Agencies. The recent Soviet withdrawal from the WHO and stepped-up attacks on other UN Specialized Agencies emphasize the USSR's fundamental hostility to the developing economic, scientific and social activities of the UN. This attitude reflects the Soviet conviction that the struggle between East and West in the next several years will be largely on an economic and social plane and that the West, especially the US, is using the UN to build up a structure of international cooperation inimical to Soviet aims. While the USSR has been consistently antagonistic toward UN activities in these fields, and of the new Specialized Agencies had joined only WHO (it also belongs to the pre-UN International Telecommunications Union and Universal Postal Union), it has recently attacked them with increasing sharpness. Such agencies as the International Bank, Fund, WHO, International Refugee Organization, Food and Agriculture Organization and International Labor Organization have been criticized as US-dominated and their activities denounced as serving the interests of the Western "imperialists." The very vigor of the Soviet attacks shows an appreciation of the future potentialities of UN action in these spheres, e.g., in implementing the Truman program for aid to underdeveloped areas.

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Soviet use of UN Secretariat for espionage and propaganda. Arrest by the FBI of Valentine Gubitchev points up the entire problem of Soviet use of the UN Secretariat for subversive activities. Employed in the UN New York office are little over twenty-five Soviet citizens, thirty-eight Poles, thirty Czechs (of whom Prague recently declared twenty-five persona non grata) and seven Yugoslavs plus numerous Communists and fellow travelers of all nationalities. While it was suspected that many of the Soviet-Satellite Staff members were not acting as neutral UN employees but as Communist

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agents, the Gubitchev incident provides the first concrete case. Although USSR chief delegate Jacob Malik acknowledged Gubitchev's UN association, he likewise, in the typically inconsistent Soviet manner, claimed Gubitchev was a member of the Soviet UN delegation traveling on a diplomatic passport. This would conflict with UN Charter Article 100 which provides that Staff members shall not "seek or receive instructions from any government or from any other authority external to the Organization...(and)...shall refrain from any action which might reflect on their position as international officials responsible only to the Organization." The Soviet position demanding Gubitchev's release on grounds of diplomatic immunity could be designed both to propagandize against terrorist police control in the US and to secure his deportation to the USSR where failure can be properly "rewarded". Meanwhile every effort is being made to direct his remarks and to channel them into the Soviet propaganda stream.

There have been other indications of Soviet-Satellite Secretariat members obstructing UN activities. The first Balkan commission in 1947 reportedly witnessed Soviet personnel scampering through windows and filching classified material. An atomic energy film expounding the Soviet plan with only vague reference to the Western proposal, officially released by the UN Department of Public Information, could effectively have aided Soviet propaganda. A pinkish hue was also apparent in the secretariat of the Temporary Commission on Korea where a staff official once prepared an announcement which, although later rescinded, did not further the work of the commission. The temporary disappearance of certain documents during the 1948 Paris GA was also attributed to Soviet staff members.

Communist activity at Headquarters and on the regional commissions are reportedly under the direction of Soviet national Arkady Sobolev, Assistant Secretary General in charge of Security Council affairs. He is accounted to be more influential than the chief of the Soviet UN delegation.

Even prior to the arrest of Gubitchev, Secretary General Lie had expressed alarm over the decreasing number of Soviet nationals on his Staff. Four had returned to the USSR and then resigned; one had returned to the USSR and disappeared. These employees have not been replaced. At the present time, Asyg Sobolev is in Moscow and speculation is rife over the possibility of his return. The USSR may, as a result of the Gubitchev incident, gradually withdraw more of its nationals from New York.

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Dutch concessions on Indonesia likely. The Netherlands may soon be forced to yield to Republican insistence upon restoration of its capital at Jogjakarta as a sine qua non to the Dutch plan for negotiations at The Hague. Prolongation of guerrilla warfare is gradually sapping the Dutch economy. The Belgians, alarmed at this, fear the repercussions on Benelux and are bringing pressure on the Dutch to settle the dispute. Federalist support, on which the Netherlands had relied to establish a government

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without the Republic if negotiations failed, is apparently not forthcoming after their recent decision to support the Republican conditions for negotiation. Finally, elements in the Dutch Labor Party are leaning toward restoration. Consequently the SC will likely instruct the UN Commission for Indonesia to negotiate an agreement on this point, thus paving the way for a Hague conference. This course bodes greater chance of success than does resort to sanctions which the French would probably veto.

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Communist reaction to Mindszenty protests. In anticipation of UN action, for which a Latin American group is pressing, the Soviet bloc is undoubtedly preparing to defend the trials of Cardinal Mindszenty and other Hungarian churchmen. The unexpected courtroom retraction of pre-trial confessions by five defendants in Budapest may have been staged by the Hungarian Government as a tactical move to counteract the impression that the trials were conducted in an atmosphere of duress, thus bolstering the defense against Western charges of violation of human rights.

The Soviet bloc may possibly arrange a countercharge against any Western strictures on Satellite justice, employing the propaganda technique characterized by British delegate Mayhew as that of the "false equation". Thus the International Association of Democratic Lawyers, a Communist front organization, has already complained to the UN that the trial of eleven Communist leaders in New York violates the Human Rights Declaration. The USSR may also slant the circumstances attending the arrest of the spy Gubitchev as a basis for attacking US justice.

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Mixed reactions to Point Four. While the broad objectives of the President's technical aid plan were generally welcomed by non-Soviet nations, some disappointment was expressed during ECOSOC discussions of the US proposal that the UN draw up a plan for expanded activity in this field. Criticism was directed at the lack of concrete plans and at what some delegates considered the tendency of the US to disclaim responsibility for implementation of the overall project. These criticisms are probably the opening salvos in a concerted attempt by many countries to turn the emphasis of the program from technical to financial assistance on the order of the ERP.

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Christian trade unions will support "non-political" Western labor international. The International Federation of Christian Trade Unions, with a membership of approximately one and a half millions centered in France, Belgium and the Netherlands, will join a Western-oriented labor international if it is not "markedly stamped" with Socialist principles. This development, likely to take place when British, US and Dutch labor

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leaders reach agreement on the nature and scope of a Western-oriented federation, probably reflects the belief of the Christian (Catholic) trade unionists that the American Federation of Labor will exert its influence to keep the new federation free of close ties to party organizations. Another factor which is counted on to assure that the new federation will concentrate on bona fide trade union objectives is the major role recommended for the international trade secretariats, the veteran international craft union associations.

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Communists plan "World Congress of Partisans of Peace". Virtually the same international Communist elements which launched the first World Congress of Intellectuals in Defence of Peace at Wroclaw last August will convene a second congress at Paris in April. The International Liaison Bureau of Intellectuals for Peace, permanent secretariat for this Soviet-oriented organization, has decided to round out the series of national peace congresses already scheduled (beginning with the US Congress 25 March) with a "World Congress of Partisans of Peace" under the joint auspices of the International Bureau and the Women's International Democratic Federation (WIDF). The very broad representation which the sponsors hope to have at the Congress is indicated by their invitation to trade unions, women's and youth movements, cooperatives, religious and peasant groups and organizations of scientists, writers, newspapermen, artists and "democratic politicians". It will be attended by a large Soviet delegation headed by the Secretary General of the Union of Soviet Writers. Like the similarly-sponsored French National Congress of Intellectuals for Peace, to be held in the same month, the World Congress is expected to adopt as its central themes the avoidance of war by peoples cooperating "irrespective of race or economic and social regime" and the development of "free research" in an "urgent" effort to end "atomic secrecy".

In a parallel move, the German League of Democratic Women, a WIDF affiliate, is forwarding to the UN a petition by "five million German women" calling for prohibition of the atomic bomb. Such moves demonstrate the unremitting determination of the USSR to throw all of its front organizations into an all-out campaign apparently aimed at convincing Western populations of the peaceful aims of Soviet foreign policy.

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